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these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

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Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

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CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

INTRODUCTION

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji.

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months

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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

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Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald

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In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble."/Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, *"O, oa!"* set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, *"A, mangiti,"* dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, *"Amunduo,"* clapped again and said, *"Amunduo,"* then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *watu lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

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Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [172] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*vcikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*valā i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

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not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka*, which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

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The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i'tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

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The Tongan dances performed in Tamba owe much of their character 535
to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian 177
dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand 535
at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered.

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest 535
their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good 533
voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands.

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave 535
their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head

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resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;
(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*musu*).
(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;
(4) Left turn and another break;
(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;
(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)
(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.
(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European.

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance.

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations.

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again.

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi.

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous.

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms;

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*.

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms.

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line:

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale — The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande. — Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

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Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

LAFO

Lafo, Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

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INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula, kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

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Greens

The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Cocoanuts

The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakale-wenimbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*).

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens.

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905):

> The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow, whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-ond-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the President. They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secretary will withdraw the amount of money

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country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

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the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly. They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place. If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teutou*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*ululu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water.

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and *sinu* leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi;* wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck.

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into *faito*. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are supernaturally effective.

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*tuli*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

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757 177 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 824 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 843 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[1647]

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei;* heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

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men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[28] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[28] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena,* crotons, and a plant called *vasa.*

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu,* forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tumbou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

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Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By **LAURA THOMPSON**
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellowship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

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remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

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WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands.

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows:

In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

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chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

> Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

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land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal relationship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share.

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head.

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66).

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,

Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,
I sa na mbula ae,
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.

He fears being alone,
So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Because the storm is gathering
But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
. . .
. . .

535
[292] Another dance type is the *scasea*, in which, according to the natives, women sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.

On next Monday afternoon
We shall have an informal meeting,
We'll go out cruising in the launch,
The engine will roar.
Come and listen and see
Lady Thilema speeding ahead,
The foam breaking on both sides.

535
522 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,
Meke mate ko nggele,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!
(repeat)

Dance of the death of the monkey,
Dance of the death of the monkey,
Monkey, monkey!

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

52[illegible] A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents.
304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on bark-
531] cloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the
[177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god.

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans.

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods.

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 427 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of the crop, called *i thava ni vanua*, as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans. [177]

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu*. A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face. [558]

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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.)

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji.

According to Mariner (19, p. 302) it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange.

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerokére* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island.

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian.

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*.

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manioke falawa (flour manioc, from which much starch can be extracted); "many knotted" manioc; *manioke ni India* (manioc of India). 241

Old Moto of Undu says:

Manioc has not been here always. Our parents have told us about the time when manioc came here. It was introduced to Vanua Vatu and from there it came here. The first known variety was *manioke ni India*. It was very poisonous, and had to be washed carefully. The wash water could not be given to pigs, because it might kill them. It was very stringy and only the starch could be used. *Vula tolu* is the most recently imported variety. We have known it only about five years. *Manioke falawa* has been here about ten years. All manioc except *manioke ni India* has come while I have been on earth. Maybe *niumea* was here when I was a child, but I do not think so. 241 177

Moto's statements are substantiated by Kalo of Fulanga and other aged informants.

On Namuka the *mbavisondoi* is the most common variety; on Mothe recently the *vula tolu* and *manioke falawa*; on Kambara, Ongea, and Fulanga the "many knotted" manioc is planted more than any other variety. The colors of the varieties differ from the whitish pale green of the *vula tolu* to a rusty red of the *mbavisondoi*. The natives do not agree as to which variety yields the largest and most reliable crops, but *vula tolu* is said to be becoming more and more popular because the root is most tender. 24

Manioc is planted throughout the year by men only. Natives say, however, that most of it is planted from April through August. The land is loosened and cleaned roughly with any kind of digging stick or occasionally with an imported 4-pronged fork. On Kambara six forks pass from hand to hand.

Manioc is planted as follows:

The tip is cut off the stalk with a cane knife. It is cut into pieces from 0.30 to 1.30 meters in length. Holding these ends in a basket or under his arm, the man carries them to the garden and shoves the stalks about 25 cm. into the ground, leaving 5 to 75 cm. exposed to the light. Always four plants are placed 38 cm. apart in a square while the squares are about 1 meter apart. Except on Mothe, the planted ends do not protrude more than 10 cm. above the ground. On Mothe stalks on the same square may protrude from 13 cm. to 75 cm. The natives of Mothe claim those with the long ends, after they have once started sprouting, hold down the weeds and their roots develop more quickly than those with short ends. Often a stalk is cut from the newly harvested manioc, the hole from which the plant was pulled is leveled, and the stalk planted immediately.

After manioc is planted the soil is no longer worked, no fertilizer is spread out, and no charm used to influence the growth.

Manioc must grow at least one year. It is still good when two years old, but if it grows older it turns stringy, finally woody, and the thick bark must be cut off.

In the morning, before the sun has reached the garden, men go out (rarely together) with one or two baskets to bring in the day's supply of manioc. With both hands the whole plant is pulled out. The roots are sometimes cut

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24 off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

[25] Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (*kumala, Ipomoea batatas*) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

24 Moto of Undu states:

177 In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vula*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

24 If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in most of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand before planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

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Breadfruit

245 Breadfruit (*uto*) is an important food in southern Lau. The varieties of breadfruit are: *uto ntchina* (true breadfruit, considered the best), *mira-mira, uto yalewa, mbuto,* and *mbale kana.* They differ in size of fruit, smoothness of surface, and shape of leaves.

Most breadfruit trees are found directly in or immediately around the village. On Mothe about 30 acres of breadfruit grove stretch along the foot of a hill, protected on the sea side by a good coconut grove. On Fulanga special care has been taken to grow breadfruit. In the villages, trees are planted wherever there is space. Kambara and Ongea grow little breadfruit.

Part of the breadfruit root is planted. If the planting spot is sandy and exposed to the sun, black or brown soil is brought to cover the root and protect it from the sun. In the village, a newly planted cutting is surrounded by vertical sticks or stones to protect it from chickens and pigs.

Breadfruit is picked off the trees by either men or women by means of a long, forked stick.

On Mothe and Fulanga breadfruit is second to manioc as a food staple whereas on the other islands sweet potato ranks second. Part of the breadfruit crop is fermented and stored.

● [177] Moto of Undu says: "When I was a boy we had breadfruit, but my father told me they did not have it when the people of Undu lived at Thakenaloa [an old village site deserted approximately 100 years ago]."

Bananas

Varieties of bananas (*vuntchi*) are: *tchaina* (China, the natives distinguish three types of *tchaina*: long, medium, and short); *waiwai* (large and long, must be cooked a long time); *saivula* (the flesh has the same qualities as *waiwai,* but is yellow in either the ripe or unripe state); *pata* (a good banana either cooked or raw; thin fine leaves make the best cigarette paper, *saluka*); *linga ni marama* (lady finger, short and curved like a slender finger); and *puka* (grown on Namuka). Two other varieties, *vuntchi ni tangane* (boys' banana) and *sese wangga,* are said to have died out.

The *tchaina* is the most common banana, except on Ongea and Fulanga where the *papa* variety ranks first. As a rule, at least one banana tree is found at the side of each house, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. Most bananas on Kambara grow on the slopes of Ndelaioloi and behind Undu near the cliff.

Banana shoots are planted by men. In soil loosened with a stick, a hole is made with a stick, shell, or coconut cup. Formerly the quality of the shoots was determined by throwing them at the hole. If the shoot missed the hole,

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Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Canangium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

[757] *Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum)* is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin.

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

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342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 284 552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura (kura* leaf), and *kato musu (musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

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396 [284] Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw, [177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 283] The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on [439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

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clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.

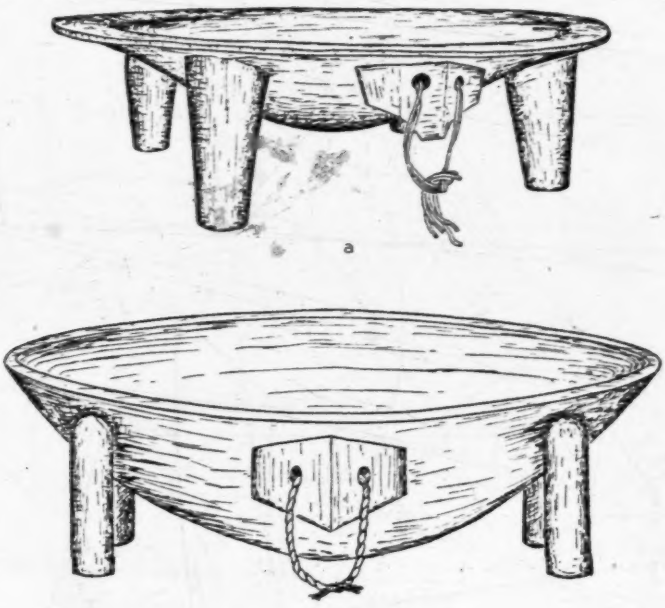

FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: a, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

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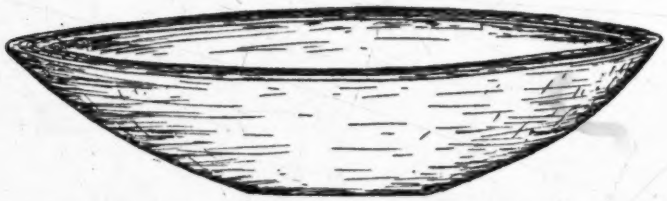

FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau.

[177]

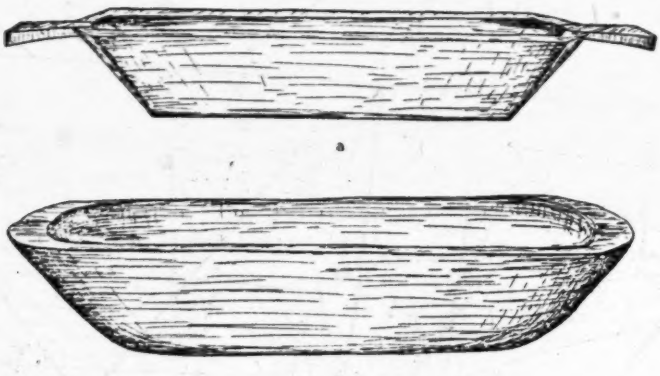

FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: a, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; b, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

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COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*.

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens.

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*).

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper.

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used:

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FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 177 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 [797] [648] There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally 177 439 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

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177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

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136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
● [177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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When one considers the limited food resources of these islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

The food resources of the famine isles have been increased considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

The most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

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302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
[142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

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175 The effect of the Tongans upon the Lauan physical type and language has been noted. Tongan influence is also marked in Lauan social life and technology.[14]

We have seen how the simple culture of the aborigines, the highly organized culture of the immigrants from Viti Levu on the west, and the influence from Tonga on the east met in the Lau islands. Conditioned by the natural setting of this island world, these divers strains fused into a unique form. The combination of social organization, economic life, technology, and outlook on life, found in Lau at the beginning of contact with western civilization, we call native Lauan culture. This native culture has been altered considerably in recent times by the influence of western civilization.

177 [14] The Lauan concept of rank based on ancestor worship, and their interest in the secular side of life were elaborated. Many Tongan traits are widespread in Lau today and create the impression that the Tongan influence in the group is very extensive and significant. For instance, graceful Tongan oval houses with Gothic-arched gable roofs have entirely superseded Lauan rectangular dwellings. The Tongan method of joining barkcloth by pasting small strips together to form long sheets, and ornamenting them by rubbing dye over designs raised on tablets is used daily. Tongan influence on the Lauan culture was checked by the withdrawal of Tongan power and the penetration of European civilization before it had been thoroughly assimilated.

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mines by touch whether the unborn child is correctly placed. 844
If not she manipulates it by massage into the proper position at the beginning of labor.

In a normal delivery the woman in labor sits with legs apart and knees slightly bent on a flat stone covered with barkcloth. She supports herself by propping her arms against the mat behind her, and she is held from behind by one of the attendant women. The midwife sits in front of her and slowly rubs her abdomen. If the delivery is difficult the 845
woman lies on her back. In cases of prolonged labor a medicine woman known for her skill and success in midwifery is called in from the village or from a neighboring village. She takes charge of the delivery and administers her own brand of medicine.

A difficult birth or subsequent complications are believed to be the result of broken tabus on the part of the mother or father. It is usually assumed by the men of the husband's clan that his wife has committed adultery. Instead of consolation, therefore, she receives reproaches from her husband's male relatives. The women, on the other hand, are sympathetic for they all agree that adultery does not influence the process of birth.

The midwife catches the infant as he emerges. If he is short 844
of breath she blows water from her mouth into his face, or she gives a cup of water to the mother and massages the umbilical cord gently with thumb and index finger. If the mother is faint the midwife gives her "medicine to restore her breath", made according to her private recipe. When the child is breathing regularly the umbilical cord is cut by the mother's mother or the midwife. This was formerly done with a shell or a bamboo knife. The method, introduced by the government, of cutting the cord with a pair of scissors and [177] ●
tying it with a piece of string, is used occasionally. An old Fulanga woman thinks that the modern method of tying the cord is injurious because the bad blood cannot flow away. As

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He is the head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials.

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava*. His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to

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634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko,*
554 the *mbuli,* and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli,* on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara.* However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

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Kambara

Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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554 177 634 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 177 578 634 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were [623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 614 554 159 The division of political power in the Kambara district has deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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622
177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

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631
178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle products formerly provided the staple food. According to informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

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476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [718] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest
177 of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

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Kambara

tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were
[251
261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under
[184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

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When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

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the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

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THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day, and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified village—*(koro)* sites.

The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, except that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

13 5. MAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may
[487] be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~xxxxxxx~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
177
287
322
366

[p. 23]

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Makuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Makuiloa. The people seemed
177 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
194 noticeable Tongan element.

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
322

[p. 29]

361 161 [491] Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 150 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store, 423 366 179 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 439 295 241 287 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Considerable masi (tapa) is made.

799 871 Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 22. MALAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W.of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W.of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~dish~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
[177] is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
489 no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-á) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite 60 yards wide the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are ~~said~~ said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynahs and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Buli[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. [177] [143] [759]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

[p.60]

[THITHIA I.]

361 [161] [366] [177] is the largest village, with 123 residents and a Chinese store. Matheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and also has a little store. Matokalau, on the east side has 65 residents. 361 361- [205] [245] Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a propperous village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe, coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store, [466] mainly for the convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta 423 on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is 245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W.portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end ~~&~~ which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and ~~&~~ a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about anything at all connected with their old mythology. So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not long ago. I was investigating the old snake legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.

177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!